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1898.

THEIR RECORD.

SPEECHES AND VOTES OF VALLANDIGHAM, AND OTHERS, IN CONGRESS.—HIS SPEECHES OUT OF CONGRESS.—THE ENDORSEMENT OF HIS ACTS AND SENTIMENTS BY HIS PARTY.

☞ It is said by one of the ablest of American Controversialists, that "*while no speaker or writer should misrepresent an opponent, he should not be allowed to misrepresent himself.*" This rule has had a controlling influence in the preparation of this pamphlet. The reader will therefore observe that its leading statements or positions, are sustained by a reference to *either official publications or to those issued by Mr. Vallandigham* or his *friends. These only are made to speak.* This *fact* gives more than ordinary value to the pamphlet, and will justify a calm and patient perusal of its contents.

The present crisis of our country calls for constant vigilance and ceaseless activity on the part of every lover of Republican Institutions. It demands, too, the dissemination of important facts, and the blunt, fearless utterance of vital truths. No one should be misled or deceived by false issues or artful words, or party prepossessions. The true views and real aims of every candidate for office should be examined and made known.

Clement L. Vallandigham, not because he possesses any special intellectuality, or is distinguished by any peculiar moral worth or social standing, but because of his excessive vanity and audacity, his fanatical passions and morbid prejudices, his destitution of patriotism and traduction of the National Government, has acquired a more than ordinary notoriety.

It is important that his sentiments and aims be exposed. This shall at once be done by a reference to his votes in the lower House of Congress, and by extracts from his speeches in that body and in various sections of the country.

It will then be shown that his supporters and advocates entertain similar opinions, and aim at the same ultimate purposes. This, indeed, cannot well be doubted; for the rallying cry of Copperheads, self-styled Democrats, in *nearly every section of the Union is*—VALLANDIGHAM!

It is clear, in fact, from their words and deeds that they think more highly of him than they do of the imperiled interests of the nation.

They stamp his name in huge capitals and in extended italics in their papers; they emblazon it, and wave it out on their banners; their orators lisp it and thunder it; their conventions scream it, and their children shout it. With propriety they may be called VALLANDIGHAMERS.

What he says, they say—what he writes, they endorse—what he speaks, they applaud. They are, what he is, in every respect. All this will be clearly shown.

IN 1860, AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK, HE FAVORED SECESSION.

On the 2d November, 1860, Vallandigham delivered an address in the Cooper Institute, in New York. He there said, "If any one or more of the States of this Union should at any time *secede* for reasons, the sufficiency and justice of which, before God, and the great tribunal of history, they alone may judge, much as I should deplore it, *I never would, as a Representative in the Congress of the United States, vote one dollar of money whereby one drop of American blood should be shed in a civil war.*"

IN THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER OF 10TH OF NOVEMBER, 1860, HE DEFENDED THE COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH.

This speech having become a subject of discussion, in a card in the "Cincinnati Enquirer," of the 10th of November, 1860, he admitted that he had uttered the words just quoted, and then added: "*And I now deliberately repeat, and reaffirm it,* resolved, though I stand alone, though all others yield and fall away, to make it good to the last moment of my public life. No menace, no public clamor, no taunts, no sneers, nor foul detraction, from any quarter, shall drive me from my firm purpose." (See Cincinnati Enquirer, November 10, 1860; also Appendix to Congressional Globe, 2d Sess., 36th Cong., p. 243.)

Now, in view of these extracts, it cannot be contended that it was anything which *Mr.*

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Lincoln or the Republican party did, which drove him into the advocacy of secession.

For it clearly appears, that like Seymour, of New York, and Woodward, of Pennsylvania, he was an original advocate of treason and rebellion.

"Of his own *free will, without any coercion* or compulsion whatever," at an early period, he thrust out for the gaze of all the "cloven foot" of disunion.

HIS DOINGS IN THE 2D SESSION, 36TH CONGRESS. HE CLUNG TO HIS ORIGINAL VIEWS. HE VOTED AGAINST THE RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO MAJOR ANDERSON.

It might have been supposed that when dangers gathered, and finally threatened the nation, a change would come over his mind, and love of country have swept away all base passions and traitorous feelings. But alas, the supposition would have been vain!

On the 7th of January, 1861, Mr. Adrain offered the following resolution in the House of Representatives:

"*Resolved*, That we fully approve of the bold and patriotic act of Major Anderson in withdrawing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and of the determination of the President to maintain that fearless officer in his present position; *and that we will support the President in all constitutional measures to enforce the laws and preserve the Union.*"

The vote was yeas 124, nays 53. Among the *nays* was Vallandigham. Even Cox could not go with him on this subject, and voted with the majority. (Congressional Globe, part 1, 2d Sess., 36th Cong., p. 280.)

HE OPPOSED AN ATTEMPT TO DETECT TRAITORS AND MEASURES FOR THE DEFENCE OF WASHINGTON CITY.

After this vote against the gallant Major Anderson, and "*all constitutional measures to enforce the laws and preserve the Union*," it was to be expected that he would oppose any proposition, which might be brought forward, for ferreting out traitors, and for the defense of the country.

Accordingly, on the 2d of January, 1861, his name is found with sixty-one others, among them BARKSDALE, *of Mississippi*, and PRYOR, *of Virginia*, against a resolution of Mr. Howard, of Michigan, which looked to the detection, &c., of traitors in the employment of the Government. (Congressional Globe, 2d Sess., 36th Cong., part 1st, p. 296.)

And on the 14th of the same month, he opposed, with fifty-four of his associates, a resolution introduced by Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, which was in these words:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of House bill No. 869, to provide for organizing and disciplining the militia of the District of Columbia; and that the same may be made a special order for to-morrow, the 15th instant, and from day to day until finally disposed of."

At the time this resolution was offered, the capital of the nation was under the eyes and within the grasp of conspirators. Yet Vallandigham arrayed himself against the organization of a force for the purpose of protecting the city and saving it from the vandalism of traitors!

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HE PROPOSED TO DIVIDE THE UNION INTO FOUR SECTIONS—HE GOES IN FOR THE AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

He does more than refuse to support measures for the maintenance of the Government. As the fawing spaniel crouches at the feet of his master, ready to obey his command, so he bent at the feet of the South—all corrupt and guilty as she was—prepared to do her bidding. It soon came.

On the 16th of January, 1861, a notorious rebel, Mr. GARNETT, *of Virginia*, said: "What the minority section needs is *power*—power to secure its rights against a majority section, differing in opinion and institutions, and animated by fixed hostility to those of the minority. The danger to the minority is not only in hostile legislation, but in a hostile use of Federal patronage and influence; and in the absence of such positive protection as its interests may require, whether in our foreign relations, in expansion by territorial acquisition, or in forming new States by colonization in such acquisition. TO SECURE ALL THIS, THE SOUTH MUST HAVE AN ABSOLUTE VETO IN EVERY DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT."

Vallandigham, almost immediately, was at work, and on the 7th of February, submitted amendments to the Constitution, consisting of a preamble and three articles. In his *first* article, he proposed dividing the United States into *four* sections, *geographical sections*.

The *second* proposed to render the voting on important questions *sectional*, and that a majority of Senators from *each section* should be necessary in order to the passage of any "such bill, order or resolution." It also proposed to make the election of the President and Vice President dependent upon a vote of the majority of the electors *from the four geographical sections*.

The *third* article explicitly provided for the *disruption* of the Government—the *secession* of any State—upon the consent of the Legislature *of the section* to which it belonged, and that the President should have "power to adjust with seceding States all questions arising by reason of their secession."

The *fourth* article provided for the *extension* of *slavery* to each of the sections and all territories, &c. (Cong. Globe, ib., p. 794.)

Here was all which Mr. Garnett on behalf of the South demanded—"*an absolute veto in every department of the Government*"—the *southernizing* and *sectionalizing of the nation*.

It mattered not that it required a destruction of the great temple of our liberties, reared by the venerated hands of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, and their compeers!

It mattered not that in direct antagonism with the immortal declaration of Jackson—

"*The Federal Union, it must be preserved*"—it called for the deliberate and formal recognition of the heresy of secession!

Vallandigham was prepared for all these things! and yet, with this attempt to *alter and degrade* the Constitution of the nation—unforgotten by the people—in the spring of 1862 he drew up, and with Richardson and Knapp of Illinois, Law and Vorhees of Indiana, Perry of New Jersey, Johnson and Ancona of Pennsylvania, Shiel of Oregon, and his own colleagues, Allen, White, Noble, Pendleton, and Morris, signed an "address of Democratic Members of Congress to the Democracy of the United States," in which it is stated that "the more immediate issue" was "*to maintain the Constitution as it is, and to restore the Union as it was.*" (Page 3 pamphlet edition printed by L. Towers & Co., Washington, D. C.)

And ever since, this has been shrieked and bellowed forth, as if it was the leading principle in their creed—the guiding star of their faction. What deep—base inconsistency is here disclosed!

HIS SPEECHES AND ACTIONS IN THE FIRST SPECIAL SESSION OF THE 37TH CONGRESS. HE OPPOSES THE COLLECTION OF REVENUE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

The 2d session of the 36th Congress closed on the 2d of March 1861.

It closed, with Vallandigham a bitter, ignoble, captious, unrelenting foe of the National Government, an unscrupulous, persistent, reckless advocate of secession and slavery.

The extra session convened on the 4th of July, 1861. During the nearly four months which intervened, in harmony with his sentiments and encouraged by his utterances, the Southern Rebellion had been fully inaugurated. The nation's honor and glory had been shrouded by the smoke and flames that encircled Fort Sumter.

The streets of Baltimore had been reddened with the blood of patriotic soldiers rushing to the defense of the nation's Capital. The brave Ellsworth had been murdered in Alexandria, Va.

The noble Greble and Winthrop were slaughtered at Big Bethel. The country was convulsed. Discord was abroad all through her territory. Men of all schools and every party—Douglas and Wright, Knox and Forney, Johnson and Hamilton in civil life—Butler and Rosecrans, Dix and Cochrane, Mitchell and Logan, Grant and Meade, and others in the military department, rallied around "the old Stars and Stripes."

But amid all, Vallandigham remained unmoved, unthrilled by a single patriotic throb. As he had left the previous regular session, he came to the special session.

And hence, on the 10th of July, he voted with *Vorhees, Wood et al*, against the bill which authorized the President, in case of the existence of unlawful combinations &c., at any port of entry, to collect the revenue at other ports until the obstructions should be removed. (Congressional Globe and appendix, 1st Session, 37th Congress, p. 56.) And in the discussions of it, he said, (p. 55) "I voted *against* the bill of my colleague (a similar one) along with every gentleman on this side of the House once or twice in the last session, and I shall *vote now as I voted then.*"

HE OPPOSED THE NATIONAL LOAN BILL.

After the bill for the "collection of the revenue" had passed the House it went into the committee of the whole on the "National loan bill."

Vallandigham at once flung himself against the bill and poured out his abuse—nursed and and warmed, against the President—affirming that he, (the President,) from the beginning had "totally and wholly underestimated the magnitude and character of the revolution," (*not rebellion in his views,*) and then pronounced the calling out of armed soldiers, "A WICKED AND HAZARDOUS EXPERIMENT," the increase of the army an act which had "NO SHADOW OF RIGHT," and declared he was for "PEACE."

And when Mr. Holman of Indiana, put this inquiry to him: "While the gentleman censures the administration, let me ask him whether, with his own constituents, he is resolved that the Union shall be maintained?" he answered in evasive words, saying, "my votes shall speak for me on that subject, &c.;" and so they had, and did, in accordance with his "Cooper Institute speech," and spoke ever after as before, "*a negative answer* to the question."—(Ib., pp. 57–60.)

His vote followed with *Burnett of Kentucky, Norton and Reed of Missouri*, and *Wood of New York*, 5 in all against the bill.

Richardson, Cox, Vorhees, and others of the same school voted for the bill. (Ib., p. 61.)

HE OPPOSED THE RAISING OF VOLUNTEERS.

As he arrayed himself against the National loan, so he did against the bill providing for volunteers for the preservation of the Government and the suppression of the rebellion. He proposed to amend the bill, as follows: "*Provided, further*, That before the President shall have the right to call out any more volunteers than are already in the service, he shall appoint seven commissioners, whose mission shall be to accompany the Army on its march, to receive and consider such propositions, if any, as may at any time be submitted from the executive of the so-called Confederate States, or of any one of them, looking to a suspension of hostilities and the return of said States, or any one of them, to the Union and to obedience to the Federal Constitution and authority." (Con. G., p. 97.) This proposed amendment called forth from a loyal Democrat of Pennsylvania, Hendrick B. Wright, the following remarks: (Ib., p. 98.) "Mr. Wright—I am opposed to the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio, from the fact that it will be holding

out to those men who are occupying a rebellious attitude, *a reward for their treason.* * * * * I am for peace, when those gentlemen now fighting under the standard of rebellion *lay down their arms,* * * * * *and sue for peace, and surrender the leaders*; then I am for peace." The vote on the bill was had without the yeas and nays. (Ib., p. 102.)

HE WAS AGAINST THE PROTECTION OF OUR COMMERCE FROM PIRATES.

But not only did he do what he could, against providing "land forces" for the Government.

He flung out his opposition so as to include our naval operations. On the 15th of July, Mr. Eliot from the Committee on Commerce reported the following Resolution, and asked unanimous consent to have it put upon its passage:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be requested to employ immediately a sufficient force to protect our commerce from the pirates that now infest our seas."

Vallandigham objected to its consideration. Mr. Elliot then inquired—"Do I understand the gentleman from Ohio to object?" Vallandigham—"Yes." The resolution was then withdrawn. (Ib., p. 128.)

Not even "protection from pirates" was this champion of Copperheads willing to allow!

Let his wishes and plans be carried out, and the Alabama, Florida, and all other dark and murderous Rebel and British craft, would sail the seas unharmed, untouched by our gallant tars.

How appropriate to him the language of Shakspeare in Macbeth:

> "*Worthy to be a rebel*; for to that
> The multiplying villanies of nature
> Do swarm upon him."

HE WOULD NOT PUNISH REBELS.

Not only did he oppose all "necessary measures for carrying on the war," but he had no censure, no punishment for *traitors.* On the 15th of July, Mr. Hickman presented "a bill *to define and punish certain conspiracies.*"

Vallandigham, after attempting to delay its consideration by introducing seven resolutions, censuring the President, captiously objected to the introduction of the bill, and then while pretending that in his judgment the object was right, declined voting, assigning as a reason that he did not understand the bill.

He had just, however, understood enough to censure the President; suddenly, however, it would seem, darkness shrouded his mind,—his brain was eclipsed. Poor Vallandigham! (Ib., p. 130.)

HE BEGAN TO DODGE! GEN. McCLERNAND'S RESOLUTION AGAINST THE REBELS, IN FAVOR OF THE GOVERNMENT, STRUCK HIM DUMB.

About this time,—the middle of July, 1861, it appears he was seized with a fit of dodging, or struck dumb as an Egyptian mummy. However this was, on the following patriotic preamble and resolution of the gallant Gen. McClernand, he neither *spoke*, nor *voted.*

"Whereas, a portion of the people of the United States, in violation of their constitutional obligations, have taken up arms against the National Government, and are now striving, by aggressive and iniquitous war, to overthrow it and break up the union of these States; Therefore,

Resolved, That this House hereby pledges itself to vote for any amount of money, and any number of men, which may be necessary to insure a speedy and effectual suppression of such rebellion, and the permanent restoration of the Federal authority everywhere, within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States. (Ib., p. 131.)

His old associates, however, Burnett, Norton Reid, and Wood, joined by Grider, "faced the music."

HE OPPOSED LEGISLATION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION.

It is said in the Bible, that "evil men shall wax worse and worse."

So, if possible, it was with Vallandigham; on the 16th of July, his "spell of silence" was broken.

Mr. Bingham, from the Judiciary Committee, reported *House bill, No.* 20, *An act to provide for the suppression of the Rebellion, &c.*

Mr Bingham stated that it was *substantially the act of* 1795. It met with the snarling, captious opposition of Vallandigham. He objected to the use of the word "REBELLION," and did what he could to defeat the bill. (Ib., pp. 145, 146.)

HE WAS NOT IN FAVOR OF THAT PART OF THE CRITTENDEN RESOLUTION OF JULY 22, WHICH DECLARED THAT THE SOUTH WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE REBELLION.

His action in reference to the first clause of a resolution of Mr. Crittenden of Ky., called up on the 22d of July, was evasive, but demonstrative of his feelings and sentiments. The clause was in these words: "That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the dis-unionists of the Southern States, now in revolt against the Constitutional Government and in arms around the Capital."

But two negative votes appeared, his old chums "Burnett and Reid."

But *he* was on the wing "again," doing what he could for the rebels, by his ominous, significant flight or silence. This, too, shows that he *will dodge*, that he is at times more bold in idle words than in actions. (Ib., p. 223.)

HE REFUSED TO THANK THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE BULL RUN BATTLE FOR THEIR COURAGE AND DEEDS OF PATRIOTISM.

That the man who had no censure for the conspirators and traitors of the South, who was unwilling to provide just punishment for their high crimes, should refuse to offer thanks or express gratitude to the noble and devoted patriots of our heroic army, is not surprising.

What he had not heart to feel, he could not utter.

It was consistent then for him,—a consistency, however, of infamy and vileness, with scarcely a parallel—to condemn the first of the two following resolutions, introduced into the House by Mr. Blair of Missouri, from the Committee of Military Affairs, on the 3d of August:

Resolved, That the thanks of the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, be given to the officers and men who fought the Battle at Bull's Run, destroying two of the Country's enemies for every one lost of its defenders, outnumbered though the latter were by opponents covered by earth works and parapets crowned with batteries.

"*Resolved*, That the condolence of this body be tendered to the families and friends of the brave men who fell on that occasion in defence of the Constitution and the Union."

Referring to the first of these he said: "I am *opposed* to the *first* resolution, and I will not give my consent to its introduction," AND HE DID NOT. (Ib., p. 427.)

HE DISLIKED AN OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

An oath has been styled by Cudworth in his intellectual system, the "Vinculum" or chain of society.

On the 5th of August, the Judiciary Committee of the House, through Mr. Porter of Indiana, reported back with an amendment, Senate Bill, No. 54, requiring an oath of allegiance and support to the Constitution of the United States, to be administered to certain persons in the civil service of the United States.

Mr. Vallandigham said, "*I should like that Bill to go over to the next session of Congress. I object to it.*" (Ib., p. 448.)

How much further was it possible for any one to go? Hostile to the Government, he was unwilling to have her civil employes bound to fidelity to its interests by an oath, demanded by the crimes and developments of the times.

HE DID WHAT HE COULD TO DEFEAT THE BILL INCREASING THE PAY OF THE SOLDIERS, AND SUSTAINING THE ACTS, &c., OF THE PRESIDENT CALLING THEM OUT.

The question of the increase of the pay of the soldiers and of the approval of the acts and orders of the President in relation to them was also taken up on the 5th of August. Vallandigham, after the bill in relation to these subjects was read, at length *objected to its introduction. At this time* his understanding did not appear to be impaired. (Ib., p. 448.)

HE WAS OPPOSED TO STOPPING PRIVATE COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE REBELS.

On the 6th of August, Mr. Bingham asked that the House allow the reading and passage of a bill, "to define, prohibit, and punish certain communications with the enemy."

Vallandigham at once cried out—"*I object.*" And when Mr. Bingham urged that it be taken up, he grew more emphatic, and vociferated—"*I object to the bill.*"

The more than usual "snappishness"—which he exhibited on this occasion has its explanation,—its natural or philosophical explanation. The bill, while it aimed to keep important information from the rebels, struck at their Northern sympathizers and agents. It came down on Vallandigham, Wood, May, and all that class; and had he allowed it to pass, to some extent he might have truthfully exclaimed—"Othello's occupation 's gone." (Ib., p. 456.)

HE WAS AGAINST CONFISCATION OF REBEL PROPERTY—HIS SYMPATHIES WERE WITH THE SOUTH.

In this session he voted against the bill to confiscate rebel property, and other important measures fully establishing what he had said in the House of Representatives, in December, 1859, (*i. e.,*) *that his cordial sympathies were wholly with the South.* (Ib., p. 431. Also Vallandigham Record, p. 44.)

HIS COURSE IN THE SECOND SESSION OF THIRTY SEVENTH CONGRESS—HE WAS AGAINST A BOUNTY TO SOLDIERS.

The first or special session of the 37th Congress terminated on the 6th of August, 1861.

The second session commenced on the 2d of December following.

In it Vallandigham exhibited the same enmity to the Government, the same sympathy for the South that he had exhibited in the previous session.

On the 19th of December, 1861, the Speaker of the House announced as the business in order the consideration of the bill, (H. R. No. 135.) giving *a bounty of* $100 *to certain soldiers, including the soldiers of the first call.* Mr. Vallandigham moved to lay the *whole subject* on the table, and after his usual caviling, withdrew his motion, and then voted against recommitting, &c., &c. (Congressional Globe, part 1, 2d Sess. 37th Cong., p. 145–146.)

HE WAS IN FAVOR OF THE RETURN OF FUGITIVE SLAVES TO DISLOYAL MASTERS.

From opposing a bounty to soldiers, he made, to him, the easy advance of favoring the rebel owners of fugitive slaves.

Mr. Julian on the 22d of December, offered the following resolution, viz.:

"*Resolved*, That the Judiciary Committee be instructed to report a bill so amending the fugitive slave law, enacted in 1850, as to forbid the recapture or return of any fugitive from labor, without satisfactory proof first made that the claimant of such fugitive is *loyal to the Government.*"

This manifestly just resolution called forth the negative votes of Vallandigham, Wickliffe, &c., in all 39. (Ib., p. 159.)

HE CAME OUT AGAINST THE CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL, AND AT THE SAME TIME ADMITTED HE WAS AGAINST THE WAR.

His next exhibition of his feelings and purpose, was on the Civil Appropriation bill.

The House having resolved itself on this subject into a Committee of the Whole on the bill, (H. R. No. 154,) he asked if general discussion was in order, and being answered it was, launched out on the surrender of Mason and Slidell, thus delaying and embarassing the passage of the bill.

And in the discussion which he called out, after referring to the fact that he had been called a "*Traitor*," the following occurred: "Mr. Wright, of Pennsylvania: I have not been denounced as a Traitor since the war began." "Mr. Vallandigham: That is because the gentleman made himself an advocate of what is called a '*a vigorous prosecution of the war'—a thing I have not been able to see*;" thus openly declaring in January, 1862, that he was against a vigorous prosecution of the war.—(Ib. pp., 210–211.)

HE WAS DOWN ON THE TAKING OF RAILROADS AND TELEGRAPHIC LINES FOR USE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Senate bill No. 169, authorizing the President to take possession of railroad and telegraphic lines, having come into the House, General Blair, of Missouri, asked permission to take it up.

The bill was one of pressing importance, contemplating the use by the Government in cases of military necessity of these lines.

Vallandigham "snarled at it" throughout its consideration, and then voted against it, with *May, Biddle et al.* The affirmative vote was 113—the negative 28. (Ib., p. 548.)

HE OPPOSED TAXES IN THE INSURRECTIONARY DISTRICTS.

His vote on Senate bill No. 292 for the collection of direct taxes in the Insurrectionary Districts, and for other purposes, was, as all his others, in favor of the rebels. Not a cent would he gather within the lines of the rebellion for the support of the National Government! Not he! *Not thus was he willing to lessen the taxes of loyal citizens.* Not he! The vote was yeas 98, nays 17. (Ib., part 3, pp. 2409, 2409, 2414.)

HE WAS UNWILLING THAT OUR SOLDIERS SHOULD SUBSIST TO ANY EXTENT ON REBEL PROPERTY.

Not content with opposing the collection of taxes in "rebel districts," on the 9th of June, 1862, he dared to oppose the following resolution offered on that day by Mr. Nixon, of *New Jersey*:

"*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this House, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States should instruct all of his officers holding command in districts of country in rebellion against the Government, to make proclamation, that henceforth *the armies of the Republic should be subsisted, so far as practicable, on the property of all those who are in rebellion, or who are giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States.*"

So infamous a vote as the negative on this resolution should be given in full. Here it is: William J. Allen, Ancona, Baily, *Biddle*, Calvert, Casey, Clements, Cox, Crittenden, Diven, Fouke, Grider, Harding, Harrison, Houston, Johnson, Kerrigan, Knapp, Leary, Menzies, Morris, Noble, Norton, Pendleton, Robinson, Segar, Shiel, John B Steele, Wm. G. Steele, Benjamin F. Thomas, Francis Thomas, *Vallandigham*, Vibard. *Voorhees*, Wadsworth, Webster, Chilton N. White, Wickliffe, and Wood—39.

What soldier, what friend of a soldier can look at this vote without scorn and contempt? Pause and think of it. *Vallandigham and his associates would not sustain a proposition which looked to our weary, maimed, and struggling soldiers, supplying their actual wants from the resources of our enemies!*

Still they have the effrontery to hold up their heads amid the lights of civilization and the homes of our heroes, and the audacity to solicit their votes, and the votes of their kindred! Beyond this, baseness cannot go!

HE WAS AGAINST THE TREASURY NOTE AND OTHER IMPORTANT BILLS.

At this session he opposed the "Treasury Note Bill," Temporary Provisional Governments in the rebel States, and every measure of importance for the suppression of the treason which curses our land. (Ib., part 1, p. 695.; Ib., part 2, p. 986.)

HIS COURSE IN THE THIRD SESSION OF THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—HE OPPOSED RESOLUTIONS OF H. B. WRIGHT, OF PENNSYLVANIA, DECLARING THE REBELLION CAUSELESS, AND DENYING THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

On the 16th of December, 1862, Hendrick B. Wright, a true and loyal Democrat, of Pennsylvania, called up resolutions, which he had previously offered.

Among them were these:

"*Resolved by the House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled*, 1. That the rebellion on the part of the seceding States against the Government and laws of this Union was deliberately wicked and without reasonable cause; the compact of Union being perpetual, no State has the constitutional power to forcibly secede, and that there was no grievance, real or imaginary, upon the part of the seceding States, for the redress of which the Constitution does not furnish ample remedies.

"2. That the rebellion being in contravention of the Constitution and laws, it is the duty of the Government to put it down without regard to cost or the consequences that may befall those engaged in it, and all necessary constitutional means for this purpose, and this alone, should be furnished by the people; that in as much as this great and wicked crime invoked the power of the sword, the war should be prosecuted with all the vigor, and strength, and means of the Federal Government, till rebellion is subdued, and no longer.

"3. That an honorable peace is desirable, but no peace while armed opposition menaces the capital and threatens the overthrow of the Union, nor that peace which would be established upon the dismembered fragments

of a mighty and prosperous nation; and that man who would entertain peace upon these conditions is a traitor to his country and unworthy the protection of its laws

"4 That the value of dollars and cents does not enter into the momentous question of the maintenance of popular liberty, or the preservation of a free Government, any more than the lives and comfort of the traitors who have conspired and leagued together for their destruction.

"5 That the Union restored, the war should cease, and the seceding States be received back into the Union with all the privileges and immunities to which they were originally entitled."

These resolutions, coming from one who had lost a son on the field of battle, and to whom he made this delicate and noble allusion, "I should have blushed if Cato's house had stood secure and flourished in a civil war," Vallandigham opposed in a labored speech on the 14th of January. In that speech, contained in the Appendix to the Congressional Globe, 3d Session, 37th Congress, pp. 52-60, is found, among other things, this *admission*, as to his exertions *against coercion* and the war:

"*I exerted myself in behalf of the policy of non-coercion.* It was adopted by Mr. Buchanan's Administration with the almost unanimous consent of the Democratic *and* Constitutional Union parties in and out of Congress. * * * * * * *I did not support the War; and to-day I bless God that not the smell of so much as one drop of its blood is upon my garments.*"

And this appeal against enlistments: "*Will men enlist at any price! Ah, sir, it is easier to die at home*" (p. 55.)

And these cries for the termination of the war: "*But ought this war to continue? I answer no, not a day, not an hour* * * * Stop fighting: make an armistice, no formal treaty: *withdraw your army from the seceded States* Reduce both armies to a fair and sufficient peace establishment. Declare absolute free trade between the North and South. Buy and sell. Agree upon a Zolverein. Recall your fleets. Break up your blockade. Reduce your Navy. Restore travel. Open up railroads. Re-establish the telegraph. Reunite your Express Companies No more Monitors or Iron-clads." (pp. 55-59.)

And this justification and panegyric of the rebels:

"*Rebels* did I say? yes, *your fathers were rebels, or your grand-fathers* He who now before me on canvas looks down so sadly upon us, the false, degenerate and imbecile guardians of the great Republic which he founded, was a rebel. And yet we who cradled ourselves in rebellion and who have fostered and fraternized with every insurrection in the nineteenth century everywhere throughout the globe, would now, *forsooth, make the word "rebel" a reproach.*" (p 54.)

How deep the depths of infamy! Amid all this the government allowed him to go untouched by justice.

He opposed the resolutions of Mr. Blake in favor of the suppression of the rebellion.

On the 5th of January, 1863, Mr. Blake of Ohio offered the following resolutions, viz:

"*Resolved*, That this House earnestly desires the most speedy and effectual measures taken to put down the rebellion; that any proposition for peace or cessation of hostilities at this time on any terms other than an unconditional submission of the rebels now in arms against the Government to the requirements of the Constitution and laws, would be pusillanimous and traitorous; than the members of this House do hereby give the most earnest assurances to the people of the United States that they will cheerfully co-operate with the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy in any measure he may deem proper, sanctioned by the Constitution and the laws of civilized warfare, to strengthen the military power of our gallant soldiers in the field, defending the Government, and to weaken that of the enemy laboring to destroy it.

"*Resolved*, That the only alternative the Government can, or ought to, offer to rebels, is submit or be conquered."

These Resolutions, patriotic in every particular, eulogistic of our soldiers—expressing an earnest sympathy with them, and condemnatory of the enemy, met with the usual cry of Vallandigham, "*I object.*" (Congressional Globe, part 1st, 3d Session, 37th Congress, p 195.)

He was against the raising of soldiers to carry on the war.

On the 26th of January, the Speaker announced that the next business in order was the consideration of a bill (H. R. No. 675.) to raise additional soldiers for the service of the Government.

Anxious to dispose of the finance question, Mr. Stevens moved that the bill be postponed until the next day.

Mr. Holman moved to amend by postponing it to the *3d of March*, next—a motion intended to defeat it entirely, by delaying it until the end of the session, and on this last question Vallandigham voted *yea*.

On the 17th of February, Mr. Olin said; "I desire to ask permission of the House to have taken from the Speaker's table the bill of the Senate No. 511 in relation to the enrollment and calling out of troops, simply for the purpose of having it printed for the use of members." (Ib., Globe, part 2d, p. 1036.)

True to his vile instincts—to his nourished wrath against the Government, he was found barking forth his usual expletive, "*I object,*"—on this simple, but important proposition.

If possible, he was determined to cripple the army so that the hordes of Rebeldom might plant their colors in the nation's Capital.

He opposed the joint resolution of Congress against foreign intervention in behalf of the Rebels.

In the evening session of March the 3d, resolutions condemning the interference of other nations in our contest were taken up in order;

and what did Vallandigham do? That which was to have been expected

He moved to lay the resolutions on the table, and with twenty-nine others, among them *Ancona* of Pennsylvania, *Voorhees* of Indiana, *Wood* of New York, voted for so doing, and then on the passage of the resolution voted *nay*. (Ib., Globe, part 2d, page 1541.) It was not enough for him to give aid and comfort to the rebels himself; he was ready to have France and England do it; to prostrate the nation at the feet of foreign powers!

Of old we are told of men who were possessed by devils. Does not this possession of the brain and heart of humanity at times still exist? From whom but the Prince of Rebels did Vallandigham gather his principles? Who else inspired and intensified his unhallowed emotions? Let who can, answer.

And here in indelible and almost unrivaled disloyalty, his Congressional record ends. It is true at this session he arrayed himself against emancipation in Missouri, against what is commonly but erroneously called the "Conscription bill," and against all other necessary or expedient measures of the Government; but these need not be specially referred to. Enough of his Congressional record and speeches has been produced, to call out against him the scorn of every true patriot—enough, to "put him in the pillory of history, and pelt him through the ages."

And then, after uttering these words of murder and slaughter, of tumult and violence, he pretended to be in favor of trying all questions by civil process—"in courts!" Crime and vice, according to an old writer, become twins, and hunt in couplets. In this speech hypocrisy was joined with disloyalty, thus giving a perfect illustration of the correctness of the observation. Such are the weapons with which Vallandigham struck for the traitors of America, in Hamilton, Ohio!

HE VISITED MOUNT VERNON—HE DENOUNCED IN LOWEST TERMS GENERAL ORDER NO. 38 OF GEN. BURNSIDE.

Crime, if unpunished, grows bold and increases in insolence. It was so with Vallandigham. Allowed to run at large, "unwhiped of justice," after his ferocious assault upon the order of Col. Carrington, he attended a so-called Democratic meeting at Mount Vernon, Ohio.

It was held in May, 1863.

In April previous, Gen. Burnside had issued the following order:

GENERAL ORDER NO. 38.

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,
Cincinnati, O., April 13, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 38.

The commanding general publishes for the information of all concerned, that hereafter all persons found within our lines who commit acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country will be tried as spies or traitors, and if convicted, will suffer death.

This order includes the following classes of persons:

Carriers of secret mails.

Writers of letters sent by secret mails.

Secret recruiting officers within the lines.

Persons who have entered into an agreement to pass our lines for the purpose of joining the enemy.

Persons found concealed within our lines belonging to the service of the enemy, and, in fact, all persons found improperly within our lines, who could give private information to the enemy.

All persons within our lines who harbor, protect, conceal, feed, clothe, or in any way aid the enemies of our country.

The habit of *declaring sympathy* for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested, with a view to being tried as above stated, or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends.

It must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this department.

All officers and soldiers are strictly charged with the execution of this order.

By command of Major General BURNSIDE.
LEWIS RICHMOND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

OFFICIAL.
D. R. LARNED, Captian and Assistant Adjutant General.

Trial of Vallandigham, p. 7.

Referring to this order in the speech at Mt. Vernon, he said that "military marshals were about to be appointed in every district, who would act for the purpose of restricting the liberties of the people;" but that "he was a freeman;" that he "did not ask David Tod, or Abraham Lincoln, or Ambrose E. Burnside for his right to speak as he had done, and was doing. That his authority for so doing was higher than General Orders No. 38—it was General Orders No. 1—the Constitution."

"That General Orders No. 38, was *a base usurpation of arbitary power*; that he had the most supreme contempt for such power. *He despised it, spit upon it; he trampled it under his feet.*"

He then urged the people to *refuse submission to it.* He pronounced the war, "*wicked, cruel and unnecessary*;" affirmed that it was "a war *for the liberation of the blacks and the enslavement of the whites*;" and closed by warning the people not to be deceived. That "an *attempt* would shortly be *made to enforce the conscription* act;" that "he should remember that this war was not a war for the preservation of the Union;" that "it was a wicked Abolition war,

and that if those in authority were allowed to accomplish their purposes, *the people would be deprived of their liberties, and* a monarchy established." (Testimony of Capt. H. R. Hill, 115th Regt. Ohio Volunteers, p. 13–15 in Trial of Vallandigham before the Military Commission, Ricky & Carroll, Cincinnati.)

VALLANDIGHAM OUT OF CONGRESS.

HIS APPEARANCE IN NEW JERSEY.

HE WAS DOWN ON THE GOVERNMENT. HE THOUGHT THE REBELS SHOULD INVADE THE NORTH. HE WAS AGAINST ENLISTMENTS.

Restless as all evil spirits are, Vallandigham flew over the country, assailing the Government, spouting treasonable sentiments, and stirring up mobs and riots. All this was so well presented by Hon. T. Stevens, in the House of Representatives, March 6th, 1863, that a condensed quotation will be sufficient. It was during the discussion of "the Conscription Bill." Vallandigham was present. He did not deny the correctness of any of the extracts read by Mr. Stevens, except one, and as Mr. Stevens read from his speech as published at the time of delivery, in the "New York World," his denial cannot be received.

Mr. Stevens said: Objection is made to this bill on account of the provisions with regard to the Provost Marshal's reporting "treasonable practices,"—the deputy Marshal here referred to, arrests nobody.

There is no provision in the bill by which they are to do anything more than keep an eye on the traitors, and report them to the proper authorities.

Gentlemen on the other side do not like that kind of machinery. They do not like to have the traitors watched and reported to the proper authorities.

Now, Mr. Speaker, to show how it is that men are dissuaded from enlisting, I will read an extract or two from the speech of a most respectable and leading member of the Democratic party, (Vallandigham,) which was made recently in the State of New Jersey:"

"I will tell him, (the President) as the profound conviction of my judgment, that *whatever may have been possible in the beginning, the day has gone by when a war for the restoration of Union can, by any possibility be successful.*"

A little further on, he says:

"*Shall the Democratic party be induced, sir, one moment to strike hands with those who desire to change the purposes of the Administration, and bring it back again to a war for the Union,* when the whole people united cannot accomplish anything before the 4th of March, 1865? Will the war continue during that time? ["Never, never," from all parts of the room.] *Will you send your sons again to the battle field?* [Overwhelming cries, no, never.] *Shall they be conscripted to carry on this war for two years more, and for the negro?*" [No, never.] After reading these extracts, Mr Stevens continued:

Are gentlemen at a loss to know why it is that the people of this nation will not volunteer to serve the country, in the army, when such leading men, the very head and front of a great party, are giving such advice and calling forth such responses?

Again he, (Vallandigham) says:

"Shall we do this with the vain, futile, absurd, and most unfounded hope that after the 4th of March, 1865, after four years of such war as God Almighty never permitted to scourge any land, you will go back again to a war for the Union? [No, no.]

"It has been proclaimed that it never was their (the rebels) purpose to invade the Northern States. It is very true that if this war is kept up, battles fought, no relenting spirit, no prospect of peace, no sound of peace to reach their ears, *they ought to be induced to make that invasion.*" (See Congressional Globe, part 2nd, 3d Session, 37th Congress, page 1262.)

HIS RECEPTION AT HOME—HE KEPT UP HIS OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT.

At the close of the 3d session of the 37th Congress, he returned to Dayton, Ohio. In responding to the reception speech of Hon. David A. Houck, who had uttered this sentence, "when the shattered temple of Constitutional liberty shall be reconstructed in this country, it will not be done by *men of blood*"—an appellation to be gazed at and remembered by every soldier's friend, and soldier, "*the men of blood.*" Vallandigham said, "*It is now the price of blood.*" "*The Administration says to every man between twenty and forty-five—Three hundred dollars or your life.*" (Vallandigham Record, fifth edition, by J. Walter & Co., Columbus, Ohio, page 246.)

HIS APPEARANCE IN HAMILTON, OHIO. HE DENOUNCED GENERAL ORDER NO. 15 OF COL. CARRINGTON AGAINST THE CARRYING OF ARMS.

Anticipating collisions on the part of loyal and disloyal men, collisions which the Copperhead and Butternut wearers and advocates of Jeff. Davis & Co. were provoking and inciting, Col. Carrington issued a pacific order against the carrying of arms, &c., dated Indianapolis, Ind., March 17, 1863. Smarting, it would seem, from the rankling pain of his but recent defeat for Congress by Gen. Schenck, baffled in all his plots, with the mad fury of a wounded buffalo, he assailed the order, and then uttered the mob-inciting, assassin-inflaming words:

"Here, sir, are our warrants for keeping and bearing arms, and by the blessing of God, *we*

mean to do it, and if the men in power undertake in an evil hour to demand them of us, we will return the Spartan answer, 'come and take them.' Sir, the Constitutional right to keep and bear arms carries with it the right to buy and sell arms, and *fire arms are useless without powder, lead and percussion caps.* It is our right to have them, and we mean to obey General Orders Nos 1 and 2, instead of No. 15." (Ib, p. 248.)

This unmeasured denunciation of the Government, this spitting upon order No. 38, this trampling it under his feet, the heroic patriot, the brave Gen. A. E Burnside, could not, would not permit. Vallandigham was therefore arrested, tried, found guilty, and sentenced "to be placed in close confinement in some fortress of the United States," to be designated by Gen Burnside, "there to be kept during the continuance of the war."

This sentence the President on the 19th of May changed to banishment beyond our military lines, and in case of his return, to "close custody"

Justice is often tardy—moves with leaden feet, but sooner or later strikes her needed blow. So it was in the case of Vallandigham.

DURING HIS CONFINEMENT UNDER THE MILITARY ARREST, HE ISSUED AN ADDRESS FULL OF FALSEHOOD AND SOPHISTRY.

On the day of his arrest, Vallandigham issued this address, viz:

MILITARY PRISON, CINCINNATI, OHIO,
May 5, 1863.

To the Democracy of Ohio:

I am here in a military bastile for no *other offence than my political opinions*, and the defense of them, and of the rights of the people, and of your constitutional liberties. Speeches made in the hearing of thousands of you in denunciation of the usurpation of power, infraction of the Constitution and laws, and of military despotism, were the sole cause of my arrest and imprisonment.

I am a Democrat—for Constitution, for law, for the Union, for Liberty—this is my only "crime."

For no disobedience to the Constitution, for no violation of law, for no word, *sign or gesture of sympathy* with the men of the South, who are for disunion and Southern independence, but in obedience to *their* demand, as well as at the demand of Northern Abolition Disunionists and Traitors, I am here in bonds today; but "time at last sets all things even." Meantime, Democrats of Ohio, of the Northwest, of the United States, be firm, be true to your principles, to the Constitution, to the Union, and all will yet be well.

As for myself, I adhere to every principle, and will make good, through imprisonment and life itself, every pledge and declaration which I have ever made, uttered or maintained from the beginning. To you, to the whole people, to *time*, I again appeal. Stand firm! Falter not an instant!

C. L. VALLANDIGHAM.

(Supplement to Vallandigham Record, p. 253.)

Here was a reaffirmance of all the treasonable views, a re-endorsement of all the disloyal speeches and votes, which for upwards of two years he had uttered. "*I adhere*," he exclaims, "*to every principle, and will make good every pledge and declaration which I have ever made, uttered, or maintained from the beginning.*" But there was more. There were deliberate misrepresentations and intentional falsehood. It was false that it was for his *political opinions* that he was arrested It was for a "licentious," riotous, inflammatory utterance of them—"AN ABUSE OF THE RIGHT OF SPEECH," which is condemned by Story, Kent, and all our great authors on law. It was false that his "only crime" was being a Democrat. That *assumed* fact was no crime at all. The commander who issued the order for his arrest was, and is a Democrat! No one has been arrested since the inauguration of the rebellion for being a Democrat. ONLY WHEN THE DEMOCRAT HAS BEEN LOST OR ABSORBED IN THE NATIONAL CONSPIRATOR AND TRAITOR HAVE ARRESTS OCCURRED.

It was false that he was not arrested for any "word, sign, or gesture of sympathy with the South" It was among other things against these—against express and implied treason—that Order 38 was issued.

This order was very explicit in its enumeration of these offenses; it was directed only against these; and yet Vallandigham openly declared that he "despised it, spit upon it, trampled it under his feet."

Why was *this*, if he had no sympathy with the treasonable practices it designated? Why denounce an order which only struck at "these practices?"

Certainly his condemnation of it was conclusive proof of his guilt. It is only "the galed jade that winces." And if never before, when he "spit upon" General Order No. 38, he "aided and abetted treason."

But the fact is, that is what he had been engaged in all along, and his conduct admits of no justification. In his better days, as chairman of a Committee on Resolutions, at a Democratic meeting held in Dayton, Ohio, December 18, 1847, he reported the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That whatever opinions might have been entertained of the origin, necessity, or justice by the Tories of the Revolutionary war, by the Federalists of the late war with England, or by the Whigs and Abolitionists of the present war with Mexico, *the fact of the country being engaged in such war ought to have been sufficient, and to have precluded debate upon that subject till a successful termination of the war; and that, in the meantime, the patriot could have experienced no difficulty in recognizing his place on the side of his country, and could never have been induced to yield either physical or moral 'aid to the enemy.'*"

This contains "the true doctrine," and marks out the course that every citizen should pursue when the nation is in the struggle and convulsions of war.

"Out of his own mouth" is Vallandigham condemned. And all that the Government today asks of him and his followers is to adhere to the rule which they enunciated in 1847. If they "stick to it," they need not dread marshals, colonels, generals, forts, or prisons; but, then, this they will not do, for it would "hush all their thunder."

HE AND HIS FRIENDS TRIED TO TAKE HIM OUT OF THE HANDS OF GENERAL BURNSIDE BY THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS—GEN. BURNSIDE ANSWERED ALL THEIR PLEAS—A DEMOCRATIC JUDGE OF THE JACKSON SCHOOL DEFEATED THEIR ATTEMPT, AND GAVE THEM GOOD RULES OF ACTION.

During the pendency of his trial by "the Military Commission," on the 9th of May, 1863, George E. Pugh made application to judge Leavitt, of the Circuit Court of the United States, for a writ of *habeas corpus*.

The petition was sworn to, not by Vallandigham, but by Pugh.

Judge Leavitt fixed the 11th of May for argument on the application.

The District Attorney, Ball, presented the answer of General Burnside, in which he said among other things, "If I were to find a man from the enemy's country distributing in my camp speeches of their public men that tended to demoralize the troops or to destroy their confidence in the constituted authorities of of the Government, I would have him tried, and hung if found guilty, and all the rules of modern warfare would sustain me. *Why should such speeches from our own public men be allowed?* * * * * * *

"They (public men and the public press) must *not use license, and plead that they are exercising liberty.* In this department it cannot be done. * * * * * *

"It is said that we can have peace if we lay down our arms. All sensible men know this *to be untrue.* Were it so, ought we to be so cowardly as to lay them down until the authority of the Government is acknowledged?

"I beg to call upon the fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, relatives, friends, and neighbors of the soldier in the field to aid me in stopping this license and intemperate discussion, which is discouraging our armies, weakinging the hands of the Government, and thereby strengthing the enemy. If we use our honest efforts, God will bless us with a glorious peace and a united country. Men of every shade of opinion have the same vital interest in the suppression of this rebellion; for, should we fail in the task, *the dread horrors of a ruined and distracted nation will fall alike on all, whether patriots or traitors.*"—(Trial of Vallandigham, pp. 42–43.)

The application was then fully argued by Mr Ball and Perry for the Government, and Pugh for Vallandigham.

The argument was protracted and exhaustive.

Judge Leavitt refused, or rejected, the application. And in doing so, he gave a full and complete refutation of all the arguments of the Copperheads about "the despotism of Lincoln, arbitrary arrests," &c.

This was more valuable, because it emanated from an "old line Democrat"—one appointed to his Judgeship by the immortal Jackson.

The Judge said: "But are there not other considerations of a controlling character applicable to the question? Is not the Court imperatively bound to regard the present state of the country, and, in the light which it throws upon the subject, to decide upon the the expediency of interfering with the exercise of the military power as invoked in the pending application? The Court cannot shut its eyes to the grave fact that war exists, involving the most imminent public danger, and threatening the subversion and destruction of the Constitution itself. *In my judgement, when the life of the republic is imperiled, he mistakes his duty and obligation as a patriot who is not willing to concede to the Constitution such a capacity of adaptation to circumstances as may be necessary to meet a great emergency, and save the nation from hopeless ruin. Self-preservation is a paramount law, which a nation, as well as an individual, may find it necessary to invoke.*" * * * *

"It is not to be disguised, then, that our country is in imminent peril, and that the crisis demands of every American citizen a hearty support of all proper means for the restoration of the Union and the return of an honorable peace.

"Those placed by the people at the head of the Government, it may well be presumed, are earnestly and sincerely devoted to its preservation and perpetuity.

"*The President may not be the man of our choice, and the measures of his administration may not be such as all can fully approve. But these are minor considerations, and can absolve no man from the paramount obligation of lending his aid for the salvation of his country.*

"*All should feel that no evil they can be called on to endure, as the result of war, is comparable with the subversion of our chosen Government, and the horrors which must follow from such a catastrophy.*"

He then goes on to say that the President "*in time of war derives his power expressly from the Constitution as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy,*" *etc.* And he adds; "*If this view of the power of the President is correct, it undoubtedly implies the right to arrest persons, who, by their mischievous acts of disloyalty, impede or endanger the military operations of the Government.* And, if the necessity exists, I see

no reason why the power does not attach to the officer or General in command of a military department."

He also says: "If the doctrine is to obtain, that every one charged with, and guilty of, acts of mischievious disloyalty, not within the scope of the criminal laws of the land, in custody under the military authority, is to be set free by courts or judges on *Habeas Corpus*, and that there is no power by which he may be temporarily placed where he cannot perpetrate mischief, it requires no argument to prove that the most alarming conflicts must follow, and the action of the Government be most seriously impaired. I dare not, in my judicial position, assume the fearful responsibility implied in the sanction of such a doctrine."

And he continues: "*There is a class of men in the loyal States who seem to have no just appreciation of the deep criminality of those who are in arms avowedly for the overthrow of the Government and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy.* They have not, I fear, risen to any right estimate of their duties and obligations, as American citizens, to a Government which has strewn its blessings with a profuse hand, and is felt only in the benefit it bestows.

"It may be assumed, I trust, that in most of the Northern States reliable and unswerving patriotism is the rule, and disloyalty and treason the exception.

"*But there should be no division of sentiment upon this momentous question. Men should know, and lay the truth to heart, that there is a course of conduct not involving overt treason, or any offense technically defined by statute, and not, therefore, subject to punishment as such, which, nevertheless, implies moral guilt and a gross offense against their country.*

"*Those who live under the protection and enjoy the blessings of our benignant Government must learn that they cannot stab its vitals with impunity.*

"If they cherish hatred and hostility to it, and desire its subversion, let them withdraw from its jurisdiction, and seek the fellowship and protection of those with whom they are in sympathy. If they remain *with* us, while they are not *of* us, they must be subject to such a course of dealing as the great law of self-preservation prescribes and will enforce. And let them not complain if the stringent doctrine of military necessity should find them to be legitimate subjects of its action."—Trial of Vallandigham, pp. 263, 264, 265, 270, 271.

HE WAS HANDED TO THE REBELS—THEY TREATED HIM KINDLY AND SPEAK WELL OF HIM—HE RETURNED THE FAVOR—TOGETHER THEY PLEAD FOR HIS ELECTION AS GOVERNOR OF OHIO, &C.

After this failure to obtain through Judge Leavitt the writ of *habeas corpus*, Vallandigham was conveyed, through General Rosecrans, into the "rebel lines."

The "Chattanooga Rebel" of the 27th of May described his reception.

It was such as clearly indicated that they regarded him as an invaluable friend. It was corroborative of his deep, dark guilt. But read:

"He was received by General Mason, and escorted to his headquarters without any demonstration. There he was received by Col. J. Stoddard Johnson, of Gen. Bragg's Staff, and by him conveyed *in a carriage* to Shelbyville, where comfortable quarters were provided. There was no demonstration, but everywhere when he passed those who had heard of his coming they *greeted him kindly* and with silent tokens of *sympathy* and *respect*."

But this is not all; the editor proceeds thus:

"His (Vallandigham's) road, which leads up a steep ascent in the future, is direct and gaslighted. It looks first out of some Confederate port to Nassau, thence to Canada, *and finally to the Gubernatorial Chair of Ohio*. The return of Napoleon from Elba was the signal for a general reaction in France. Thousands flocked to him in an instant. Nothing could keep the Little Corporal—bar nor iron, nor prison, nor island. He stood once more on his native heath; the superstition of the popular heart clung to him, and he triumphed.

Let Mr. Vallandigham's return be as speedy. Let the absence of a single month find him issuing an address to the people of his State from Lower Canada, proclaiming these things to them:

"I, a loyal citizen of the Union, and a soldier thereof and of freedom, banished against law and the Constitution, thrown contrary to my will across the lines to a public enemy, whose refusal to receive and recognize me establishes before all men my patriotism and my honor; I, C. L. Vallandigham, persecuted, exiled, mobbed, and coerced by cowardly tyrants and by bayonets, but not dead nor dumb, issue these words, and declare myself a candidate for Governor of Ohio." (See, too, Pennsylvania Argus, June 10, 1863, and other papers.)

Pause and look at this:

(1.) His name was suggested for Governor of Ohio.

(2.) The line or route of his departure from the South was suggested.

(3.) The point of his destination was suggested.

(4.) The issuing of an address from Canada was suggested.

(5.) The matter of the address was suggested.

Now observe! Each of these suggestions were carried out by Vallandigham and his friends.

1st. On the 11th of June, two weeks after the publication in the rebel papers, Vallandigham was nominated for Governor of Ohio.

2d. He left the South as indicated.

3d. He arrived in Canada.

4th. He issued an address dated Niagara

Falls, Canada West, 15th of July, 1863, and another dated at the same place on the 31st of July.

5th. These addresses contain the very subject-matter suggested.

The first begins with a reference to his "banishment," states that he was fairly and honorably dealt with in the South, &c.

The second speaks of military force, tyrannic power, &c. They both keep up a display of his old slang—denouncing Burnside as a "presumptious, infamous person," and Judge Leavitt, before whom his case was voluntarily presented, as a judge who has brought foul dishonor on the judiciary of the country.

Why these perfect coincidences? How did all this exact harmony between the suggestion of the "Chattanooga Rebel" and Clement L. Vallandigham occur? It clearly was not accidental. No, no, these coincidences were the result of deliberate arrangement

This is the inevitable, the startling conclusion! *Vallandigham's nomination for Governor of Ohio and his mode of carrying on the campaign is in accordance with a programme formed while he was in the South, and suggested by the Traitors of that section.* Foiled in every other effort to aid them and to overthrow the Government, this is now adopted!

Men of Ohio—Americans, shall it succeed? Arouse, awake and declare every where that this last—the vilest scheme of the champion of Copperheads and his rebel compeers shall fail, utterly fail!

HIS PURPOSE IF ELECTED GOVERNOR—THE PLAN OF HIS FRIENDS.

It is impossible to rely upon the word of one so base as Clement L. Vallandigham. Yet what he would attempt may be determined from his second address—that of 31st of July last. He says in it:

"The Democratic party promises to the South no confiscation, nor emancipation, nor conscriptions, nor executions," &c. "No Martial law, *no Military orders*," &c.; that it would give them "quiet and security in their rights, properties, and institutions of every kind." &c. *In other words, whatever they ask he would give, for*, in his opinion, like the King, they "can do no wrong." And in *direct violation of the Constitution*, which provides for the punishment of treason, he would, so far as even their leaders are concerned, wipe out its penalties. As Seymour has done in New York, he would do in Ohio, embarrass the Government, impair its strength, and play into the hands of the rebels.

Beware of the man!

But still more: He with his supporters would inaugurate "a new Rebellion," invade neighboring States, and at the point of the bayonet suppress all real loyalty, all true patriotism. Read the proof: it is from the lips of S. S. Cox. It was uttered at Cleveland:

"What must we do? We must *elect* Mr. Vallandigham *first*. We must inaugurate him. How, you say? Mr. Pugh will take his solemn oath as Lieutenant Governor. He will swear to abide by the Constitution and the Union. Mr. Vallandigham's name will be called thrice from the door of the Capitol. If he does not appear, Mr. Pugh will be Governor. *He will call out the militia, 150,000 strong. He will march to the Canadian frontier.* He will conduct Mr. Vallandigham to his chair as Governor and none will dare to hinder him. Then will McClellan or Seymour, in 1864, we will put the Government again on an honorable footing; the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is: and the country will once more be peaceful and prosperous." [Cheers.]

This is clear. It comes, too, it must be remembered, from the lips of an intimate friend of Vallandigham, and a leader of the conspirators, one fully posted, one in their secrets.

And should GEORGE W. WOODWARD be elected Governor of Pennsylvania, he, it is to be presumed, would assist in the execution and completion of the programme of violence and blood.

Indeed, the plot appears to be this:

Elect in the loyal States as Governors sympathizers with the rebellion. When this shall be done let them combine to obstruct, and, if necessary, resist the measures of the Administration. Thus paralyze its efforts to suppress the rebellion and aid the South in the attainment of its objects, and ultimately overthrow the "powers that be," and take control of the Government. Hear what Lieut. M. F. Maury in his letter to the "London Times," dated Bowden, Cheshire, August 17th, says on this point:

"VALLANDIGHAM WAITS AND WATCHES OVER THE BORDER, PLEDGED IF ELECTED GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OHIO TO ARRAY IT AGAINST LINCOLN AND THE WAR, AND TO GO FOR PEACE."—[New York Herald, Saturday, Sept. 5, 1863.]

Patriots of every section, dash this foul plot into fragments.

This ends Vallandigham's record—one more unpatriotic, one of greater baseness was never presented to the American people.

It is said by Dr. Watts:

> "While the lamp holds out to burn
> The vilest sinner may return."

This return, however, on the part of political as well as moral sinners can only be effected through penitence or contrition. But Vallandigham has given "no sign of sorrow."

He frowns as fiercely as ever upon the Government, and smiles as approvingly as he did in the commencement of his nefarious career upon the conspirators and traitors of the land.

WHAT HE WAS HE IS. He has consistently clung to the determination announced in his Cooper Institute speech. In the fore part of 1863 at Newark, N. J., referring to a similar determination which two years previous he had expressed in that place, he boasted of the pertinacity with which he had adhered to it;

and it is fair to presume that *what he is he will continue to be.*

In fact, this is more than a presumption. In his speech at Dayton, August 2d, 1862—see Vallandigham's record, page 147—he said: "*War is upon us! I have not voted for any army bill, or navy bill, or army or navy appropriation bill since the meeting of Congress on the 4th of July,* 1861." And he then and there expressed his purpose to persist in this anti-war "rule" or policy

These speeches fix him for the future as well as for the past. Now, then, let every friend of his country, every lover of his race, every admirer of Liberty, study the truthful, authenticated record here spread out, and then aid in the defeat of Vallandigham and his "entire" band of conspirators. The welfare of the nation demands it.

THE OPINIONS, PRINCIPLES, AND AIMS OF VALLANDIGHAM FULLY ADOPTED AND ENDORSED BY HIS ADHERENTS.

It only remains to be shown that Vallandigham's views, aims, and feelings have been approved and advocated by his adherents. This has already to some extent appeared. But let it be fully shown by a reference to the record of the party. Here it is:

NEW YORK.

HER PEACE DEMOCRACY OR COPPERHEADS ENDORSE HIM. HIS COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH. SEYMOUR'S LETTER TO A MEETING HELD IN ALBANY ON THE 16TH OF MAY, 1863. A NEW YORK CITY MEETING OF THE 18TH OF MAY.

In his card in the "Cincinnati Inquirer." Vallandigham says that the "*sentiment*." viz: "I never would, as a Representative in the Congress of the United States, vote one dollar of money whereby one drop of American blood should be shed in a civil war," was received with vehement and long-continued applause.

Now mark well. It was not the *bad man Vallandigham* that was applauded. It was the atrocious "*sentiment*" uttered by him—the *tendency* and *purpose* of that sentiment. Uttered by Pugh or Cox, by Wood or Seymour, by Jeff. Davis or Slidell, the applause would have been none the less "vociferous."

Just so, Milton tells us, Satan was "shouted on" in his assault on God's throne, not so much because he was "the Prince of Devils" as because of the destructive and unhallowed object he had in view.

The "New Yorkers" were *then* early committed to the teachings of Vallandigham. And this fact sheds a flood of light upon the subsequent conduct of the thieves, assassins, murderers, and rioters of the first city of America.

It uncovers their motives. It shows that on the 22d of November, 1860—long before any "conscription act" existed—long before any draft had been attempted; even before Mr. Lincoln was elected President of the United States—while the pliant and submissive Buchanan occupied the "White House"—they had determined to stand by Southern conspirators, traitors or secessionists, and to withhold from the Government means and men necessary to suppress any rebellion which the slaveholders might inaugurate.

And, therefore, their recent acts of violence were only the outcropping of their original purpose. THEY ONLY DID, IN THE BLOODY WEEKS OF 1863, PART OF WHAT THEY HAD DECIDED TO DO IN 1860.

But the applause with which the New Yorkers greeted the madness and folly of Vallandigham's "Cooper Institute speech," is not the only proof which they have furnished of their sympathy with his notions and acts.

After his arrest, and before the final disposition of his case, Governor Seymour, the *friend* of the rioters and the rioters' friend, sat down in the Executive Department of the Empire State, and addressed a letter to a Copperhead meeting in Albany, in vindication of the arrested conspirator, in which he pronounced the order of General Burnside "an invalid order, put forth in utter disregard of the principles of civil liberty," and denounced the Governors and Courts of some of the great Western States as "having sunk into insignificance," etc. (New York papers, May 17 and 18.) New Hampshire Patriot and Gazette, May 27, 1863.

And on the 18th of May "a monster meeting" was held in New York, which approved of this letter and passed these resolutions:—

"*Resolved*. That we, the citizens of the city of New York here assembled denounce the arrest of Hon. C. L. Vallandigham, and his trial and sentence by a military commission, as a startling outrage upon the sacred rights of American citizenship.

"*Resolved*. That the refusal of the Judge of the district within which the Hon. C. L. Vallandigham is incarcerated to grant a writ of *habeas corpus* is, in itself, a nullification of the Constitution and an infamous outrage upon the clearly defined rights of the citizen."

So far as New York is concerned this proof is ample. It puts Vallandigham and his party in that State in the same boat. They sail together. It demonstrates, too, that they are prepared to denounce not only Presidents and Generals, but *also Courts*, if their decisions do not accord with their whims or plans.

It is only when these bodies do their biddings that they eulogize and venerate them.

PENNSYLVANIA.

MODERN PENNSYLVANIA DEMOCRATS OR COPPERHEADS ENDORSE VALLANDIGHAM.

Men of similar instincts, desires, and principles, however geographically separated, are

distinguished for the general uniformity of their actions.

It was, therefore, to be expected that "the friends of the South" and the opponents of the Government would act in Pennsylvania as in New York; and so they did.

Shortly after the meeting in New York city one was held in Independence Square, Philadelphia, presided over by ex-Chief Justice Lewis, of the Supreme Court of that State, and the following resolutions adopted, viz:

"*Resolved*, That in the letter of the Hon Horatio Seymour, of New York, to the late public meeting of the Democratic citizens of Albany, condemning the proceedings of the Administration against Mr. Vallandigham, we recognize the tone and language of a statesman, and the spirit of a man worthy to be, at a great crisis, the Chief Magistrate of a great State.

"*Resolved*, That the arrest and banishment of Mr. Vallandigham is a violence to which the people of the United States will not and ought not to submit." (See Philadelphia papers.)

What the New Yorkers shouted the Pennites shouted. They both sang in lusty tones the praise of their chief.

The Pennsylvanians even threatened to bring "the people" down on the Government—just what the Copperhead part of them, Biddle and Ancona, Woodward and Hughes, Buckalew and Wharton, Reed and Florence, have all along vainly attempted to do.

But they did not stop with *this* approval of the "Ohio patriot." In their State Convention, which met at Harrisburg on the 17th of June, they came out "flat-footed" in his defence.

The eighth resolution of this Convention reads thus:

"That we heartily thank the lion-hearted Democracy of Ohio for the manly vindication they have given to the Constitution against the great crime committed upon it in the arrest and deportation of Clement L. Vallandigham, and we assure them of our cordial sympathy in the great struggle they are making for their undoubted rights."

This was the Convention which nominated Walter H. Lowrie for the Supreme Court, and George W. Woodward for Governor. By the quoted resolutions these candidates are placed on the Vallandigham platform.

On it they must stand or fall. Not a line of his record did the Convention repudiate—not a word of it have the nominees condemned.

The truth is, a "fellow feeling" does more than make us "wondrous kind." It cements men in crime and degredation. It has bound together the enemies of the country everywhere in support of Vallandigham.

NEW JERSEY. HER DEMOCRACY ENDORSE VALLANDIGHAM.

But in the race of endorsement, New Jersey could not be a laggard.

This is her resolution, viz.:

Resolved, That in the illegal seizure and banishment of Hon. C. L. Vallandigham the laws of our country have been outraged, the name of the United States disgraced, and the rights of every citizen menaced, and that it is now the duty of a law-respecting people to demand of the administration that it at once and forever desist from such deeds of despotism and crime.

It is vituperative, ferocious, against the Administration. A justification of Vallandigham could not be otherwise.

CONNECTICUT, INDIANA, IOWA, ILLINOIS, OHIO, &c.

But not with New Jersey did the glowing eulogies of Vallandigham stop. Not in Newark were the thunders of denunciation hushed. The Copperheads of Connecticut and Indiana, Iowa, Illinois, and other States united in their eulogies of him, and in their censure of Burnside and Lincoln.

Ohio "capped the climax" by nominating him for Governor; thus in the most unequivocal manner adopting all his theories and policy, all his principles and feelings. Certainly further proof of the approval of his record and acts by his followers cannot be required.

He is not, therefore, the eccentric genius *of a faction*—he is not a blazing comet dashing through the sky of his party. He is their great central light, around whom, as planets, they all revolve.

In the light which he emits they must move. In it, as a party, they must live or perish.

CONCLUSION.

LET ALL AWAKE.

ENGLAND STANDS UP FOR VALLANDIGHAM, &C., &C.

It would not be difficult to add more. The facts that the advocates of Vallandigham have burdened the very waves of the Atlantic with their complaints; that their cries have stirred the cold heart of the British lion until it beats in sympathy with their plans and purposes; that the hypocrites and libelers of "the London Times" have come with leaded columns to their assistance, and that the cotton worshipers of Europe have determined to place him in marble, plaster, or bronze, might be dwelt upon.

These, indeed, Americans, are significant facts. For a moment or two consider them. The combination of our revolutionary days "lives over again." As then so now, the enemies of our nationality on both sides the Atlantic are united in their hatred and opposition.

Tories and "Red Coats" associated in the "War of Independence."

In the present crisis they keep company or co-operate.

Not a mercenary ship-builder of England, not a British tar on Confederate vessels, not a blockade-runner from the ports of the sea-girt isle, but breathes the same sentiments and utters the same slang, and pours forth the same

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curses against the Government as Vallandigham and his party.

This admits of only one explanation:

The foes of true liberty have met on common ground to subvert our civil institutions. Vallandigham, modern American Democracy, Southern conspirators and insurrectionists, and European despotism move in concert against the great temple of our freedom. Meet them, patriots; meet them men of liberty and truth and justice; meet them in their march; meet them at the coming election, and by the might of the ballot-boxes tell them the rebellion of the slaveholders must be OVERTHROWN, THE SCHEMES OF DOMESTIC TRAITORS AND FOREIGN FOES MUST BE DEFEATED, THE UNION OF THESE STATES MUST AND SHALL BE MAINTAINED.

ADDENDA.

STARTLING DISCLOSURES.

THE INVASION OF OHIO BY MORGAN, AND OF PENNSYLVANIA BY LEE, URGED BY VALLANDIGHAM.

It may be well to add a specimen or two of what could be proven against Vallandigham and his party by going *outside* of their publications and of official records. This is fair. And mark how the facts thus obtained harmonize with those gathered from their lips and pens. Space does not allow of more than an allusion to the statement which has repeatedly come through our gallant Western armies, *that while within the rebel lines Vallandigham repeatedly urged that they should hold on to Port Hudson and Vicksburg, as it was necessary to secure the success of his party in the North.*

But read this:

PHILADELPHIA, *Tuesday, Sept.* 1, 1863.

Having just returned from the city of Richmond, Va., where I have been for over one year, I wish you would give the following publication in your valuable journal.

I have during my stay in Richmond, made the intimate acquaintance of J. Lane, Captain in the Confederate army, son of Gen. Joe Lane, of Oregon, who is well informed, and who assured me *that the late invasions of the North by Lee and Morgan were made upon the earnest and undoubted representation of that "true Southern man, Vallandigham"* who assured Jeff. Davis and his Cabinet, that the North was ripe for a revolution, and only awaited the appearance of the Southern army to proclaim for Jeff Davis and forsake Lincoln. * * * *

Respectfully, yours,

(Signed) HENRY REINISH.

This letter requires no comment. Its facts have not been authoritatively contradicted. How powerfully they cry out against Vallandigham and all his followers.

THE RI[illegible] CONCERT WITH THE PEACE DEMOCRACY. IT IS TO THREATEN, OR OVERRUN PENNSYLVANIA AND AID IN THE ELECTION OF WOODWARD AND LOWRIE.

But look at this. It is said "murder will out." So will the schemes of the base and vile under all circumstances.

The Richmond Enquirer of the 7th of September, in an article headed "*the road to peace,*" thus speaks:

Should General Lee cross into Maryland, the embarrassments of Lincoln would increase. His "victorious" army, unable to take the field and attempt the repetition of Sharpsburg and Gettysburg, would be compelled to remain in Washington, while Gen. Lee marched whithersoever he wished in Maryland or Pennsylvania.

The success of the Democratic party would be no longer doubtful should General Lee once more advance on Meade. Parties in the United States are so nearly balanced that the least advantage thrown in favor of one will insure its success. Should the Confederate army remain quiescent on the banks of the Rappahannock, the boastful braggadocia of Yankee reports will be confirmed, and Lincoln and Halleck will point in triumph to the crippled condition of the Confederate army as confirmation of the great victory won in Pennsylvania.

General Lee must turn politician as well as warrior, and we believe that he will prove the most successful politician the Confederacy ever produced.* *He may so move and direct his army as to produce political results, which, in their bearing upon this war, will prove more effectual than the bloodiest victories.* Let him drive Meade into Washington, and he will again *raise the spirits of the Democrats, confirm their timid, and give confidence to their wavering. He will embolden the Peace party* should he again cross the Potomac, for he will show the people of Pennsylvania how little security they have from Lincoln for the protection of their homes.

A fall campaign into Pennsylvania, *with the hands of our soldiers untied,* not for indiscriminate plunder—demoralizing and undisciplining the army—but a campaign for a systematic and organized retaliation and punishment, would arouse the popular mind to the uncertainty and insecurity of Pennsylvania. This would react upon the representatives in Congress, *strengthening the Democrats,* and mollifying even the hard shell of fanaticism itself.

The damages which the last campaign inflicted, if augmented by another this fall, when presented to the Lincoln Government, would, unless paid greatly exasperate the people against an Administration which neither defends the State, nor reimburses its citizens for losses which its own imbecility has produced. And if these damages are paid the debt is increased, the taxes raised, and the burdens imposed will accomplish the same end.

Let the great and important fact be constantly kept in a tangible and threatening aspect before the people of Pennsylvania that, notwithstanding they have opened the Mississippi, and are besieging Charleston, and threatening East Tennessee, and Georgia, and Alabama, that, notwithstanding all this, Pennsylvania is not safe from invasion, and Washington city is again beleaguered in this third year of the war. *The road to peace lies through Pennsylvania via Washington.*

Let this be read and re-read. Most completely does it sustain the position that a *conspiracy against the life of the Nation exists between Jeff. Davis & Co. and the self-styled Democracy of the North.* More than this—that *Woodward and Lowrie* and their friends in Pennsylvania are "part and parcel" of the conspiracy, or at least, that they are acting in concert with it.

Men of the East, the North, the West—of Tennessee, of Kentucky, of Missouri—all—all—remember that the *triumph of the Peace Democracy would be the triumph of the Rebellion.*

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